Sebastian Bitsch*

The Rhetoric of Caliphal Legitimacy. On the Use of *alqāb* by the Umayyad Rulers in the East

https://doi.org/10.1515/islam-2023-0020

Abstract: The Umayyad caliphs of Damascus have been remembered in Arabic historiography by their respective given name (*ism*). While epithets (*alqāb*) are widely documented from the ʿAbbāsid period onward for rulers, emirs, viziers, and courtiers, and have been treated in some detail in research, no comparable studies exist for the Umayyads. This paper discusses the style and validity of epithets ascribed to Umayyad caliphs drawing on a wide array of sources, including historiographical works and panegyric as well as material evidence. It is argued that an interpretation of *alqāb* in the sense of individual throne names, which only became the norm under the ʿAbbāsids, distorts our perspective of the process of augmenting the ruler's name with honorific epithets, which can already be observed in the Umayyad period. This expansion of the ruler's titulature, it is argued, mirrors a broader process of sacralizing caliphal power to legitimize the claim to authority in the face of competing factions within the nascent Islamic empire.

Keywords: *alqāb*, epithets, Umayyads, sacral kingship

Introduction: The *longue durée* of ruler bynames

On December 17, 2011, "The Shining Star of Paektu Mountain" and "Highest Incarnation of the Revolutionary Comradeship," who may be known to most people outside of North Korea as the "Beloved Leader" Marshall Kim Jong-il, passed away. His subjects knew him by a myriad of other prestigious titles: "Fate of the Nation," "Peerless Leader," "Saviour," "Great Sun of the 21st Century" and, of course, as "Ever-Victorious, Iron-Willed Commander and Glorious General Who Descended from Heaven." Shortly after his death, he was also given the honor of bearing the title "Eternal

***Corresponding author: Sebastian Bitsch**, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany, sebastian.bitsch@uni-goettingen.de

General Secretary of the Party."[1] Some of these epithets had already been applied to his father and are now applied to his son Kim Jong-un, but the Kim dynasty is somewhat lonely holding the fort here, even if the careful observer of dictatorial self-dramatization may still remember the "Synthesis of the Latin genius," "glorious oak from Scorniceşt" and "Warmth and inspiration providing Sun" (Nicolae Ceaușescu)[2] or the "Savior," "Messiah," and "Father of the Nation" (Mobutu Sese Seko).[3] However, although up to our days some monarchs retained sublime titles such as "Custodian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries" (King Salmān),[4] ostentatious titles, emphasizing the glory of the ruler and his vicinity to the Numinous, seem to have lost their charm on a global scale – at least in comparison to bygone periods.

In the past, however, epithets of a sacred, even theocratic nature were of great importance for articulating the claim to legitimate rule. Janneke DE JONG, referring to the Severans, remarks that: "through imperial titulature the emperor was represented in words. Imperial titulature is informative on imperial representation, since the constituent parts of the titulature illuminate different aspects of imperial legitimation (dynastic, military, religious). So, by means of imperial titulature an emperor communicated specific virtues and qualities, demonstrating that he was the right man to fulfill the emperorship."[5] In various regions of the ancient world, throne names and epithets ornamenting the ruler's name enjoyed great popularity early on. While in Pharaonic Egypt,[6] the empires of the Assyrians,[7] Achaemenids,[8] and various Mesopotamian kingdoms[9] the ruler's proximity to the Numinous predominated, epithets applied to Roman *principes* tended to emphasize the aspect of victorious military leadership.[10] Yet the emperor's epithets have always conveyed the sacral aspect of rule, and were therefore criticized as adopting Hellenistic models,[11] where the difference between man and god seems indeed to be leveled: *Theos*, *Theopator*, *Theos Epiphanes*, or *Soter* accentuate the ruler's participation within the sphere of the Numinous, as it is particularly evident in the

1 GELIUS 2013, 140–167.

2 Ibid., 277–278.

3 COVINGTON-WARD 2016, 147–148.

4 King Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 1982–2005) adopted the title in 1986, ABIR 2020, 193.

5 DE JONG 2007, 311.

6 VON BECKERATH 1999.

7 HOLLOWAY 2002, 178–192; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2015, 142–143.

8 SCHMITT 1982; ARJOMAND 1998; ROLLINGER 2011.

9 SEUX 1967.

10 This is particularly clear from Trajan's titles: *Imperator Caesar Divi Nervae filius Nerva Traianus Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Pontifex maximus, Tribuniciae potestatis XXI, Imperator XIII, Consul VI, Pater patriae*, see KNEISSL 1969.

11 SIGMUND 2014; CAMERON 2016.

case of the Seleucids and Ptolemies.[12] After the Seleucids, their successors as rulers of the eastern satrapies, the Arsacids, adopted a variety of epithets exalting the ruler's status.[13] As the empire's Iranian cultural identity was more strongly emphasized under the later Arsacids, Greek epithets gradually lost importance and were replaced by a less expansive titulature, with the old Iranian royal title *shāhānshāh* in particular being used more frequently.[14] The use of the throne name Arsaces, which all Parthian monarchs would adopt in the course of their enthronement, is also significant.[15]

The Sāsānids' rise to power at the beginning of the third century CE marked a turning point in the development of Iranian imperial titles.[16] Descendants of a priestly family from Fārs, the early Sāsānids emphasized the ruler's proximity to the supreme god Ahura Mazdā[17] by using formulas such as *ēn mazdesn bāy* (this Mazda worshipping majesty/god) and *kē čihr az yazdān* (whose seed is from the gods), which have been documented epigraphically and numismatically.[18] With the turn of the fifth century, two new epithets were introduced: *rāmshahr* (the one who pacifies his land) and *kayān* (Kayānid).[19] Al-Bīrūnī, who notes that individual epithets for rulers were only used in Iran before the rise of Islam,[20] moreover transmits a throne name for each Sāsānid king.[21] The transition from the principate to the dominate, coinciding with the Sāsānids' takeover, also seems to be reflected in the variation of the Roman emperors' titles. From Diocletian onward, the epithet *aeternus*, which had previously been reserved exclusively for the gods, became increasingly important[22] while the imperial family was apostrophized as *domus divina*.[23] With the adoption of Christianity by Constantine the Great and his successors, the emperors' pagan sacred epithets were given a Christian accent, emphasizing their special proximity to the Christian God: *kyrios*, *pius*, *religiosus*, *piissi-*

12 Muccioli 2013.

13 For numismatic evidence, see Dąbrowa 2008; Dąbrowa 2011.

14 Wolski 1988; Sarkhosh-Curtis 2007.

15 Roman authors explicitly paralleled this practice with the adoption of the epithet *Augustus* in the imperatorial titulature, see Olbrycht 2016, 101–103.

16 On Sāsānid royal titulature, see Huyse 2006.

17 The literature on this topic is immense, but see Panaino / Sadovski 2007; Panaino 2009.

18 On problems of interpretation, see Panaino 2009.

19 Daryaee 2002.

20 Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* (1878), 102. However, it appears questionable whether the caliph's use of *alqāb* should solely be explained as adoption of Sāsānid models, as Hassuri 1982 suggests.

21 Ibid., 121–122.

22 Kolb 2001, 36–37.

23 Ibid., 21–22.

mus, and *christianissimus* among others.[24] We can observe at this point that in Late Antiquity in both the Roman and the Iranian empires, epithets served *inter alia* to accentuate the sacral aspect of the ruler's authority.

Looking toward the imperial periphery encompassing the Arabian Peninsula, one finds a plethora of evocative epithets for tribal leaders, kings, and poets.[25] With regard to monarchs, the sources give us *alqāb* for rulers of al-Ḥīra and some minor tribal kings.[26] In Ḥimyar, on the other hand, it was customary for high-ranking personalities to possess a double name consisting of a proper name and an epithet.[27] While in the early period of the kingdom the exclusive use of the ruler's proper name is mostly attested on coins, this practice changed in the period immediately before the advent of Islam when the *laqab* became predominant.[28] In medieval Europe, epithets emphasizing the power of the ruler or his religious legitimacy, such as "The Great" and "The Saint," were accompanied by a series of pejorative or somehow ridiculous sobriquets, such as "The Fat," "The Bald," "The Lame," "The Deaf," or "The Stammerer,"[29] which obviously do not convey a sacral dimension and have not found use as official epithets. Bynames, encompassing epithets, sobriquets, titles, and throne names, applied to rulers have thus been a cross-cultural phenomenon for ages.

It therefore seems helpful to differentiate with regard to the early Islamic period between the different types of bynames given to rulers, which can roughly be divided into four subcategories: (a) Nicknames accentuating physical peculiarities or character traits that may have a honorific or pejorative character but were not adopted by the ruler or applied to him by members of the elite in an official context; (b) epithets that, among other things, tended to indicate a proximity to the Numinous but didn't constitute a part of the monarch's official titulature; (c) titles that were used by subsequent rulers in an official context, and (d) throne names, in the sense of an individual regnal title or sovereign's slogan, that, in principle, were only used by one ruler.[30] All four forms of adjuncts coincide in the Arabic *laqab*, one of the five distinct components of an Arabic name.

24 Rösch 1978, 37–80.

25 Barbier de Meynard 1907; al-ʿĀnī 1982.

26 Athamina 1998.

27 Robin 2010, 363.

28 Ibid.

29 For an extensive overview, see Wrackmeyer 1936. See also Bührer 1972; Brühl 1994.

30 For a slightly different classification, see Bates 2003, 280–281, who differentiates between titles, attributes, epithets, and official honorific titles.

The ambiguous character of *alqāb*

Arabic names are known to have a complex structure, being composed of several constituents qualifying the name-bearer.[31] The actual given name (*ism*)[32] is accompanied by other elements: the *nasab* defines the lineage over several generations,[33] the *nisba* provides information about the tribal affiliation or geographical provenance of the name-bearer,[34] the *kunya* identifies him metonymically as the father or mother of the male first-born (seldom of the female first-born),[35] and finally the byname (*laqab*) primarily qualifies physical or character features[36] and can therefore have both a honorific (*tashrīf*) and a pejorative (*taskhīf*) connotation.[37] We also find evidence of shifts from an originally derogatory *laqab* to an accepted nickname. The famous poet Ghiyāth b. Ghawth (d. 92/710) has been remembered by his rather unflattering *laqab al-Akhṭal* (the bigmouth), and his contemporary Abū Firās Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (d. 114/732) is known as *al-Farazdaq* (the lump of dough); a phenomenon that can also be observed in relation to the *nisba*, as in the case of al-Balādhurī.[38]

This derogatory quality of *alqāb* is also addressed in the Qurʾān, where it is stated: "Do not speak ill of one another; do not use offensive nicknames for one another."[39] The Prophet moreover is said to have called for scrupulous attention being paid to the choice of correct names with regard to the Last Judgement: "Verily, you will be called at the day of Resurrection by your names and your patronymics, so call yourselves by graceful names."[40] The importance attributed to names in early Islam is mirrored in numerous *aḥādīth* where the prophet is said

31 On the structure of Arabic names, see von Hammer-Purgstall 1852; Bräu 1921; Schimmel 1989; Sublet 1991.

32 Schimmel 1989, 1–4.

33 Ibid., 8–10.

34 Ibid., 10–12.

35 Ibid., 4–8.

36 *Alqāb* alluding to professions or functions in society are excluded here, for examples, see Schimmel 1989, 55–56.

37 Schimmel 1989, 12–13, 50–67; Bosworth 1998. For a detailed compilation of *alqāb* focusing on pre-Islamic and classical texts, see Barbier de Meynard 1907; von Hammer-Purgstall 1852, 12–19; Bräu 1921, 61–87. For encyclopedically arranged compilations in Arabic, see al-Bāšā 1957; ʿUrayfī 1985; al-Shihābī 1995; al-Sayyid 2011.

38 *Balādhur*, a sumac plant that enjoyed a dubious reputation for its intoxicating effects, is said to have been al-Balādhurī's grandfather's nemesis. Nevertheless, the scary story became eventually associated with al-Balādhurī himself, see Bos 1996.

39 Q 49:11, tr. Abdel Haleem 2016.

40 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunān* (2009), 7, 303 (*innakum tadʿawna yawma l-qiyāmati bi-asmāʾikum wa-asmāʾi ābāʾikum fa-ḥsinū asmāʾakum*). Kister 1975 provides a comprehensive analysis of the traditions.

to have revealed the best and worst names[41] and to have vigorously spoken out against adopting his *kunya*.[42] Names thus are essential; they not only allow different individuals to be distinguished, they also mark, especially in tribal societies, the social status of a person by means of genealogy. The extensive *nasab*-literature gives ample evidence of the special significance being attributed to descent in early Islamic times.[43] Paradoxically, the importance of genealogy is also reflected in the fluidity of its attributions, for "genealogy adapts to changing realities on the ground," as Michael Lecker pointedly stated.[44] Imagined genealogies have therefore been repeatedly used to substantiate claims to power, to provide legitimacy for rulers, and to accentuate their more-than-personal qualities.[45] In contrast to genealogies, which identify the individual through his integration into a lineage, epithets serve to emphasize specific individual qualities.

The *ḥadīth*-traditions moreover provide explanations for *alqāb* applied to the first caliph. It is reported that Muḥammad, accompanied by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, climbed Mount Uḥud one day and, when the mountain began to sway, exclaimed: "Stand firm, Uḥud! Verily on you are a Prophet, a *ṣiddīq* and two martyrs!"[46] Of course we cannot say with absolute certainty whether the first caliph was actually given his *laqab* by Muḥammad or even bore it during his lifetime, although the designations of Abū Bakr as *al-Ṣiddīq* and ʿUmar as *al-Fārūq* appear in quite early sources,[47] indicating a fairly early tendency to distinguish between the ruler's *ism* and that of ordinary Muslims by using epithets.

---

41 The designation king of kings (*malik al-amlāk*) is said to have been particularly abhorrent to him, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (2002), 1547–1548; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1955), 1688; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ* (1996), 4, 522. In contrast, he named as best names ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* (2009), 7, 305; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1955), 1688; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ* (1996), 4, 520; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (1952), 1229. The Prophet is also said to have reflected on names not permitted for labeling slaves, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1955), 1685.

42 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (2002), 510, 874; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1955), 1682–1684; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ* (1996), 6, 525; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (1952), 1230–1231.

43 Regarding the formative period, see Kennedy 1997; the later development is outlined in Szombathy 2002 and Leder 2015, citing a variety of contemporary Arabic *ʿilm al-nasab* works.

44 Lecker 2015, 283.

45 The alleged genealogy of the Fāṭimids is a classic case, see Madelung 1961; even secular dictators like Ṣaddām Ḥusayn have spent some effort presenting themselves as descendants of Muḥammad, Bengio 1998; Baram 2001, 302.

46 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (2002), 904, 906, 910; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1955), 1880; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ* (1996), 6, 67; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (1997), 37, 468. However, ʿAlī is also said to have claimed being the *ṣiddīq*, Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (1952), 44.

47 For Abū Bakr: al-Ruqayyāt, *Dīwān* (1958), 89; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* (1904), 3.1, 119, 121, 128, 130, passim; al-Azdī, *Futūḥ* (2005), 79, 99, 138, 178, passim; see also the discussion in Akpinar 2016, 77–158. On al-*fārūq*, see Bashear 1990, esp. 65–70 and Schreiner 2018, esp. 70–74 for a messianic under-

The Difficulty of Making the Right Choice: Throne Names for Caliphs

The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī (r. 289/902–295/908), who had a certain talent for inventing mocking names for high dignitaries of his empire, is reported to have said: "Rarely do your eyes see a man whose inner meaning is not – if you only think – in his *laqab*."[48] Of even greater importance was the choice of the right *laqab* for the caliph himself, and we even have an alleged eyewitness' report about how a ruler got his *laqab*. Specialists are essential for all state affairs, and one such specialist was the distinguished historian, grand master of chess, and *homme de lettres* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), who served at the ʿAbbāsid court between 289/902 and 329/940[49] and relates the following story[50] in his *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-l-Muktafī*: When he was lying ill, a messenger arrived from Prince Abū l-ʿAbbās, whose tutor he had been, and who, as he was now to succeed his uncle al-Qāhir, asked his mentor to send him a list of *alqāb*, which al-Ṣūlī diligently did, as he reports: "I sent him a letter encompassing thirty names, to choose the one he liked best, and I suggested in my letter that he should choose *al-Murtaḍī billāh*."[51] Having no doubt that his disciple would follow his advice, he immediately set out to compose a fine piece of panegyric as a servant arrived to deliver the somewhat sobering news that the caliph had not chosen the suggested title but simply *al-Rāḍī bi-llāh*. Al-Ṣūlī goes on to report that the caliph had rejected the *laqab* al-Murtaḍī because it had already been held by al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, who had briefly been heir apparent during the uprising of his brother Ibrāhīm against al-Maʾmūn.[52] Although he had never seized power, the *laqab* seemed somehow to have become obsolete. Al-Muktafī himself took a slightly different approach, explaining that the Prophet had recited his *laqab* to him in a dream, along with the promise of

standing of the *laqab* (I am grateful to the member of the *Der Islam* editorial board who provided the last reference). A plethora of *alqāb* for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib can be found in Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib* (1991), 4, 321–334. The famous commander Khālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642) is often referred to as *sayf Allāh*, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* (1904), 7.2, 119; al-Azdī, *Futūḥ* (2005), 178; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh* (1995), 16, 217.

48 al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif* (1867), 33 (*wa-qalla mā abṣarat ʿaynuka rajulin illā wa-maʿnāhu an fakkarta fī-laqabihī*), tr. Schimmel 1989, 12.

49 On al-Ṣūlī, see Osti 2015.

50 Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār* (1983), 1–4. Canard 1949, 49–52 offers an annotated French translation; Wasserstein 1988, 61 contains a partial English translation.

51 Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār* (1983), 2.

52 Ibid., 3–4.

a great future.[53] Over time, the need to keep track of names already in use must have increased. This leads us to Umayyad al-Andalus, where Ibn Ḥaẓm collected 88 names for future caliphs in his *Naqṭ al-ʿarūs*.[54] In addition to this list, the *Naqṭ* contains another unique detail: a list of throne names for all 14 Syrian Umayyad caliphs, bearing a strong resemblance to the throne names that became used from the ʿAbbāsids onward.[55]

Invented epithets? Umayyad *alqāb* in historiographical sources

Although al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1008–1009) considers ʿAbd al-Malik the first caliph to adopt a *laqab*,[56] throne names for the eastern Umayyads have not been preserved in the most prominent early historiographical sources, such as al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, or al-Balādhurī, at all. If *alqāb* are explicitly mentioned, they are usually pejorative sobriquets for individual rulers. According to Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), ʿAbd al-Malik was called *Abū Dhibbān* (father of flies) because of his notoriously foul breath and *Rashḥ al-ḥajar* (sweat of stone) due to his avarice.[57] Known for his nonchalant lifestyle, al-Walīd II was given a variety of disparaging sobriquets; most often *al-Fāsiq* (the sinner)[58] but also *Khalīʿ banī Marwān* (the debauchee of the Banū Marwān),[59] while his slayer and successor Yazid III became known as *al-Nāqiṣ* (the deficient).[60] The great military leader Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik appears on various occasions as *al-Jarāda al-ṣafrāʾ* (the yellow locust).[61] In contrast, Marwān II's epithet *al-Ḥimār* (the wild ass) was in all likelihood originally not used solely by historians derisively, but applied as a metaphor for the caliph's indefati-

53 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* (1995), 17, 313–314. On *alqāb* revealed in dreams, see Bates 2003, 311 (n. 6).

54 Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 99, examined in detail by Wasserstein 1988.

55 Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 48.

56 Al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt* (1961), 343.

57 Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif* (1969), 355; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (1996), 7, 194. For other explanations, see al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif* (1867), 25–26; Barbier de Meynard 1907, 193–194.

58 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm* (1929–1972), 1, 298; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* (1949), 5, 173.

59 Al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif* (1867), 29.

60 Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif* (1969), 367; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, (1867), 29–30; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat* (2004), 21, 297; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* (1973–1983), 2, 320; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm* (1929–1972), 1, 299, 303.

61 Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif* (1969), 358, because of his yellowish *teint*.

gable tenacity.[62] Apart from the major historiographical works, however, there are several other sources that ascribe throne names to the Umayyad rulers. The earliest source that provides us with this information is al-Masʿūdī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*,[63] which reads:

> We have indeed seen that some of the diehards who have departed from the Hāshimites – the Ṭālibids among them and also the ʿAbbāsids – and taken sides with the Umayyads, thus professing their Imāmate, indicate that those of the Banū Umayyah who reigned used to adopt *alqāb* in the manner of the *alqāb* of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. They cite two traditions in this regard. The first says: "It was transmitted by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī, who said: It was reported to us by Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh on the authority of his father, on the authority of his paternal grandfather, who said: Sābiq, ʿAbd al-Malik's mawlā, reported to me, who said: I heard the Commander of the Faithful saying: 'The Commander of the Faithful, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, was given the epithet *al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh*, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya *al-Mustanṣir ʿalā l-zaygh*,[64] Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd *al-Rājiʿ ilā Allāh* and Marwān *al-Muʾmin bi-llāh*.'" The second tradition says: "Abū Muṭarrif reported to us on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather, who said: ʿAbd al-Malik was given the epithet *al-Muʾthir li-amr Allāh* and al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik *al-Mutaqim li-llāh*. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik was surnamed *al-Mahdī* because he made innovations by separating what was at the minbar, and appointing ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as his successor and he was (also) called *al-Dāʿī ilā Allāh* and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz *al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh*, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik *al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh*. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik was called *al-Manṣūr* and this happened because in the hour of his birth news arrived of the death of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. When he was brought to his father and presented to him, and he was told his name, he said: This is not one of our names, rather he shall be called Hishām, after his maternal grandfather. And his *laqab* remained *al-Manṣūr* until Yazīd appointed him heir to the throne, then he bore the *laqab al-Mutakhayyir min āl Allāh*. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd was called *al-Muktafī bi-llāh*, and Yazīd b. al-Walīd *al-Shākir* [336] *li-anʿum Allāh*, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd *al-Mutaʿazziz bi-llāh*, and Marwān b. Muḥammad *al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh*.
> ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, when he was heir to the throne, used to have himself called *Muʿaẓẓim li-ḥurumāt Allāh* from the *minbar*, and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik called his city, when he had built it at the Gulf of al-Qunsṭanṭiniyya, Madīnat al-Qahr and himself *al-Qāhir bi-ʿawn Allāh*."

Al-Masʿūdī is not the only author to transmit these unusual throne names. Ibn Ḥazm preserved an almost identical list, but confined himself to referring only to the alleged *alqāb* without naming his informants, while omitting the narrative ele-

62 Von Mžik 1906, eventually alluding to the Sāsānid Bahrām V. Gūr (r. 420–438), who gained some prominence in Islamic historiography, Savran 2018, 81–101.

63 al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* (1894), 335–336.

64 The printed edition has *al-rabīʿ* (spring), which barely makes sense; I therefore follow other manuscripts underlying the edition, where *al-zaygh* is attested, which is also preferred in the other versions of the tradition.

ments of the report in the *Tanbīh*.[65] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 1328), whose massive *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb* has unfortunately been preserved only fragmentarily, records *alqāb* for Marwān I,[66] ʿAbd al-Malik,[67] al-Walīd I,[68] ʿUmar II,[69] Yazīd II,[70] Hishām,[71] al-Walīd II,[72] Ibrāhīm,[73] and Marwān II,[74] whereas al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) again provides a complete list.[75] Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470) gives a list for all caliphs except Sulaymān, Hishām, and al-Walīd II.[76] Similarly, al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) records throne names for several caliphs.[77] Mujīr al-Dīn transmits an almost complete list in his *Taʾrīkh*,[78] whereas his *al-Uns al-jalīl* contains an abridged list ranging from Muʿāwiya I to ʿUmar II.[79] Al-Diyārbakrī (d. ca. 1582) has only preserved a truncated list[80] while al-ʿIṣāmī (d. 1699) again kept a complete list for all 14 rulers.[81] Our findings, put together schematically, give the following chart:

65 Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 47–48.
66 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ* (1996), 5, 533, 549, 575–576, 628.
67 Ibid., 533, 549, 465, 627–628.
68 Ibid., 533.
69 Ibid., 349–350.
70 Ibid., 302–303; 5, 465.
71 Ibid., 540, 549.
72 Ibid., 540, 465.
73 Ibid., 4, 340.
74 Ibid., 3, 322.
75 Al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthīr* (1985), 110, 115, 121, 123, 126, 132, 139, 141, 145, 150, 156, 159, 161, 162.
76 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid* (1997), 1, 64, 66, 70, 75, 78, 81, 89, 93, 106, 109, 110.
77 Al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh* (2005), 91.
78 Mujīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh* (2011), 1, 268, 293, 302, 307, 308, 313, 316, 318, 323, 327, 331.
79 Idem, *al-Uns* (1999), 398, 399, 400, 402, 413, who also records ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr as *khādim bayt Allāh* (ibid., 399).
80 Al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh* (1975), 2, 291, 301, 308, 318, 321, 322.
81 Al-ʿIṣāmī, *Ṣimt* (1998), 352–353, quoting al-Buhūtī's *Taʾrīkh al-khalāʾif*, no printed version of which I have been able to consult.

Table: "Umayyad Caliphs with *alqāb*"

	al-Masʿūdī (d. 965)	**Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1063)**	**Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 1328)**	**al-Qalqa-shandī (d. 1418)**	**Ibn Tagh-ribirdī (d. 1470)**	**al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505)**	**Mujīr al-Dīn (d. 1522)**	**al-Diyārbakri (d. ca. 1582)**	**al-ʿIṣāmī (d.1699)**
Muʿāwiya I	al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh		al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh	al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh	al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh / al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Tamm li-din Allāh
Yazīd I	al-Mustanṣir ʿalā ahl az-zaygh	al-Mustanṣir ʿalā ahl az-zaygh		al-Mustanṣir ʿalā ahl az-zaygh	al-Mustanṣir	al-Mustanṣir	al-Mustanṣir ʿalā ahl az-zaygh		al-Muntaṣir ʿalā ahl al-zaygh
Muʿāwiya II	al-Rājiʿ ilā llāh	al-Rājiʿ ilā llāh		al-Rājiʿ ilā llāh	al-Rājiʿ ilā l-ḥaqq	al-Rājiʿ ilā l-ḥaqq	al-Rājiʿ ilā l-ḥaqq	al-Rājiʿ ilā l-ḥaqq	al-Rājiʿ ilā llāh
Marwān I	al-Muʾmin bi-llāh	al-Muʾtamar	al-Muʾtamin	al-Muʾtamin bi-llāh	al-Muʾtamin bi-llāh	al-Muʾtamin	al-Muʾtamin bi-llāh		al-Muʾtamin bi-llāh
ʿAbd al-Malik	al-Muwaththir li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaththiq li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaffiq li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaththiq li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaffiq li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaffiq li-amr Allāh	al-Muwaffiq li-amr Allāh		al-Muwaffiq li-amr Allāh
al-Walīd I	al-Muntaqim Allāh	al-Muntaqim Allāh		al-Muntaqim Allāh	al-Muntaqim bi-llāh	al-Muntaqim bi-llāh	al-Muntaqim bi-llāh		al-Muntaqim bi-llāh
Sulaymān	al-Mahdī	al-Mahdī bi-llāh / al-Dāʿī ilā llāh		al-Mahdī bi-llāh / al-Dāʿī ilā llāh			al-Mahdī bi-llāh / al-Dāʿī ilā llāh		al-Dāʿī ilā llāh
ʿUmar II	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh	al-Maʿṣūm	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh	al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh		al-Maʿṣūm bi-llāh

Table (continued)

	al-Masʿūdī (d. 965)	**Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1063)**	**Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 1328)**	**al-Qalqa-shandī (d. 1418)**	**Ibn Tagh-ribirdī (d. 1470)**	**al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505)**	**Mujīr al-Dīn (d. 1522)**	**al-Diyārbakri (d. ca. 1582)**	**al-ʿIṣāmī (d.1699)**
Yazīd II	al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh	al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh		al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh	al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh	al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh		al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh	al-Qādir bi-ṣunʿ Allāh
Hishām	al-Manṣūr	al-Manṣūr	al-Manṣūr	al-Manṣūr bi-llāh					al-Manṣūr bi-llāh
al-Walīd II	al-Mustakfī bi-llāh	al-Muktafī bi-llāh		al-Mustakfī bi-llāh					al-Mustakfī bi-llāh
Yazīd III	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh		al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh	al-Shākir li-anʿum Allāh
Ibrāhīm	al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah	al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah	al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah	al-Muqtadir bi-llāh	al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah		al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah	al-Muʿtazziz billah	al-Muʿtazziz bi-llah
Marwān II	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh		al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh	al-Qāʾim bi-ḥaqq Allāh

All these *alqāb* have remarkable sacral accents presenting the caliphs as supported by God and acting on his behalf. If considered authentic, they would not only shed further light on the Umayyads' conception of the caliphate but also help to explain how the ʿAbbāsids might have found inspiration for creating throne names. However, scholars have usually only touched upon the historicity of these *alqāb*, emphasizing that they should be interpreted as later inventions reflecting a desire for systematization and schematization by the respective authors.[82] This position had already been advocated by Ibn Ḥazm, who notes a hiatus between the *alqāb* attested for the first three caliphs and the time of the ʿAbbāsids.[83] Likewise, al-Ṣābiʾ,[84] Ibn Khaldūn,[85] and al-Qalqashandī[86] emphasize that the ʿAbbāsids were the first to adopt throne names. In contrast, Fārūq ʿUmar argues that ʿAbbāsid *alqāb* should rather be considered a continuation of a tendency already observable in the Umayyad period.[87] The question therefore remains whether the Syrian Umayyads actually adopted *alqāb*.

First of all, it should be noted that our sources demonstrate a remarkable consistency in attributing *alqāb* to the Syrian Umayyads. Between al-Masʿūdī and al-ʿIṣāmī, the corpus is essentially stable; individual variants can mostly be identified as scribal errors. Although not every author has preserved a complete list, al-ʿIṣāmī's example shows that the alleged *alqāb* have been preserved in historical memory over the remarkably long period of 1,000 years. We can also make some assumptions about how the tradition traveled between East and West. The report first appears in al-Masʿūdī's *Tanbīh*, and a few years later Ibn Ḥazm, who has used the *Tanbīh* as a source,[88] incorporated the list into his *Naqṭ*. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majmaʿ*, we cannot say where he got his information from, but al-Qalqashandī certainly made extensive use of Ibn Ḥazm's *Naqṭ* in his *Maʾāthīr*, as he himself repeatedly indicates.[89] Thus, although we must cast doubt on the historicity of the *alqāb* attributed to the Syrian Umayyads, we can at least indicate how these peculiar traditions may have migrated between East and West.

82 Tyan 1954, 486–487, who considers only the pejorative epithets authentic; Lewis 1968, 13, 19; Bosworth 1998, 620.

83 Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 43, 47–48.

84 Al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm* (1986), 129.

85 Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* (2004), 410.

86 Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ* (1922), 5, 440, 477, 480. Mujīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh* (2011), 1, 286 is skeptical too, noting that most historians do not attribute *alqāb* to the Syrian Umayyads. For other authors voicing the same opinion, see Lewis 1968, 19.

87 ʿUmar 1970, 377; idem 1971, 323–324, citing al-Masʿūdī's *Tanbīh* and al-Qalqashandī's *Maʾāthīr*.

88 Schmidtke 2013, 378.

89 Al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthīr* (1985), 88, 94, 106, 112, passim, who knew al-Masʿūdī's works, *Subḥ* (1922), 5, 480.

Aside from reports deriving from al-Masʿūdī, we find almost no independent evidence for *alqāb* attributed to the Umayyads. There are, however, two exceptions: Sulaymān's *laqab* al-Mahdī is frequently attested in courtly panegyric,[90] and the account of Hishām being given the *laqab al-Manṣūr* upon his birth is found independently of al-Masʿūdī in al-Ṭabarī's and al-Balādhurī's works.[91] Nevertheless the authenticity of the material depends largely on the reliability of al-Masʿūdī's report, but unfortunately his *riwāya*s do not inspire great confidence. It is impossible to identify all the transmitters, but at least the tradent of the first *riwāya*, Sābiq, can be identified with some certainty as Abū Saʿīd Sābiq b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqqī (d. 100/718), the *mawlā* of the caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and a later confidant of ʿUmar II, versed in *kalām*, *ḥadīth*, and *zuhd* poetry. He also served as *imām* and *qāḍī* in al-Raqqa.[92] It is therefore likely that Sābiq circulated the first tradition in the early eighth century, although it is also possible that later Umayyad partisans attributed the tradition to a traditionalist, who was sufficient to appear trustworthy but from whom not enough material had been transmitted to make the spurious attribution obvious. On the other hand, it remains possible that other sources, attributing *alqāb* to the Umayyad caliphs, have been lost along with most of the early Syriac historiographical tradition in Arabic.[93] This interpretation, however, seems contradicted by another report according to which al-Masʿūdī had seen a voluminous 300-page work at an Umayyad partisan's estate in Tiberias in 324/935–936, containing biographies of every single caliph up to the Andalusian Umayyads along with arguments emphasizing the legitimacy of their reign and prophecies indicating the restoration of rightful Umayyad universal rule. However, al-Masʿūdī did not find any references to the alleged *alqāb*.[94]

Should al-Masʿūdī's informants have invented these *alqāb*, it is worth taking a look at the individual throne names to see whether they had already been used before, taking 956, the year of Masʿūdī's death, as our *terminus ante quem*.[95] Muʿāwiya's *laqab al-Nāṣir li-ḥaqq Allāh* could be interpreted as a reverence to the first Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. 300/912–350/961),[96] and the same applies to Yazid I, whose *laqab al-Mustanṣir* seems to mirror the throne name

90 See below n. 115.

91 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (1996), 8, 367; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh* (1879–1901), 2.3, 1466.

92 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh* (1995), 20, 3–17; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfī* (2000), 15, 44–45; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān* (1963), 2, 109.

93 Donner 1987; Borrut 2011, 26–60, passim.

94 Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* (1894), 236–237.

95 The dating of individual rulers follows Bosworth 1980.

96 Fierro 1989.

of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's successor al-Ḥakam II (r. 350/961–366/976).[97] In contrast, no such prototypes exist for the four subsequent rulers. Only Sulaymān's *laqab* once again recalls the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158/775–169/785) and the Fāṭimid Imām-caliph al-Mahdī (297/909–322/944).[98] The throne names of ʿUmar II and Yazīd II are again unique, whereas Hishām's *laqab* can be interpreted as being modeled on the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754–158/775) or the Fāṭimid Imām-caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 334/946–341/953), while al-Walīd II's *laqab* could resemble that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī (r. 289/902–295/908). Yazid III, in turn, bears a unique *laqab*. In the case of Ibrāhim, if written without *ḥarakāt*, the ʿAbbāsid al-Muʿtazz (r. 252/866–255/869) could have served as model. Finally, Marwān II's throne name could have been formed analogously to the Fāṭimid al-Qāʾim (r. 322/934–334/946), although ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III also seems to have experimented with this *laqab*.[99] Other *alqāb*, however, seem unique: Yazīd I's *laqab al-Mustanṣir ʿalā ahl al-zaygh* (the one asking [God] for assistance against dissenters) seems to reflect the confrontation between the caliph and the Ḥijāzī elites that eventually led to the second *fitna*, while his son's *laqab al-Rāǧiʿ ilā llāh* (the one who takes refuge to god) could allude to the caliph's premature death. Thus, a first comparison of the throne names does not give clear indications whether they should be understood as mere application of ʿAbbāsid/Fāṭimid models to the Umayyads or whether al-Masʿūdī's list can claim a certain historicity at all.

Yet, at second glance, we find indications pointing to the fictional character of the tradition. First, the fact that some *alqāb* seem to refer to events during the reign of the caliphs is noteworthy. This, assuming that *alqāb* were bestowed upon accession to the throne or already upon designation as the heir apparent, as it would later become the norm, casts doubt on their historicity. Furthermore, it seems significant that in most cases the *alqāb* are derived from the pattern of the active participle of form I (*fāʿilun: al-Nāṣir, al-Rājiʿ, al-Qāḍir, al-Shākir, al-Qāʾim*), which is rather the exception in the case of the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids. This could either be interpreted to imply that the creators of our pseudo-*alqāb* seem to have operated in a rather arbitrary manner, adapting the given patterns only very superficially, or else deliberately chose *alqāb* that had no outright ʿAbbāsid/Fāṭimid connotations, although allusions seem obvious in the case of *al-Manṣūr*, *al-Mahdī*, and *al-Qāʾim*. It seems therefore more likely that *alqāb* were ascribed to the Umayyads by their devoted adherents quite early after the dynasty's downfall, at a time when the

97 For the Andalusian Umayyads, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 48–49.

98 Abū l-ʿAbbās is mentioned as such in an inscription from Baysān dated to 135/753, Sharon 1999–2021, 2, 214–219.

99 Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ* (1987), 49; Fierro 1989, 39. Al-Ṣābiʾ (*Rusūm*, 129) reports that Abū l-ʿAbbās also briefly experimented with this *laqab*, alongside with *al-Murtaḍā* and *al-Muhtadī*.

later ʿAbbāsid pattern, using participles of forms II–VIII and X accompanied by the name of God as an annex, had not yet emerged. It thus seems highly doubtful that the Umayyads adopted the *alqāb* transmitted by al-Masʿūdī; the earliest possible time for their circulation would then correspond to the period between 750 and 880 within the context of pro-Umayyad revolts against ʿAbbāsid rule.[100] Al-Masʿūdī's report nevertheless indicates the importance of caliphal *alqāb*, which must have been so significant that it became necessary for Umayyad partisans to attribute throne names to their caliphs after the demise of the Syrian branch of the dynasty.

At this stage, however, it is necessary to distinguish whether we assume that Umayyad caliphs did not carry *alqāb* at all or whether we assume that they did not bear the throne names listed by al-Masʿūdī and subsequent authors. In other words, what is the situation regarding *alqāb* in the sense of epithets and titles? *Khalīfat Allāh* must certainly be considered the most important *laqab* conveying a sacral dimension of power.[101] Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds have demonstrated the use of the title and its derivatives (*khalīfat al-raḥmān*, *khalīfat rabb al-ʿālamīn*, etc.) for Umayyad caliphs from ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān onward.[102] In addition, Avraham Hakim has convincingly argued that the title was already attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and eventually to Abū Bakr.[103] However, courtly panegyric contains further noteworthy examples of *alqāb* used to address Umayyad caliphs.[104]

ʿAbd al-Malik is addressed as *amīn Allāh*,[105] *ṣāḥib Allāh*,[106] *imām*,[107] and *al-mubārak*.[108] Likewise, his son and successor al-Walīd I appears as *amīn Allāh*,[109] *rāʿī Allāh fī l-ʿarḍ*,[110] *imām al-muṣṭafā*,[111] *walīy li-ahd Allāh*,[112] *imām*,[113] and *dhū*

100 On pro-Umayyad insurrections in early ʿAbbāsid times, see Cobb 2001, 43–65.

101 For a classification of caliphal *alqāb*, including *ʿabd Allāh* and *khalīfat Allāh* among others, see al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthīr* (1985), 20–22.

102 For an impressive quantity of references, see Crone / Hinds (1986), 6–23 and now, emphasizing the late antique context, Marsham 2018.

103 Hakim 2005; Hakim 2007. The title's use on coins even after ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform is documented for Sulaymān, Schindel 2002.

104 The subsequent findings tend to be illustrative, but they seem to indicate a remarkable continuity in the application of *alqāb* to numerous Marwānid caliphs in panegyrics. For the Sufyānids, see Crone / Hinds 1986, 6–7.

105 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 295.

106 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 24.

107 Al-Akhṭāl, *Dīwān* (1994), 25 and as *Ibn al-imām*, ibid., 97.

108 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 343.

109 Ibid., 185; al-Akhṭāl, *Dīwān* (1994), 32.

110 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 250.

111 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 70.

112 Ibid., 686.

113 Ibid., 685.

l-ʿarsh.[114] Sulaymān is frequently addressed as *mahdī*[115] alongside *imām*,[116] *walīy al-ḥaqq*,[117] and *al-khalīfa al-mubārak*,[118] while for ʿUmar II *al-imām al-mubārak*,[119] *imām al-hudā*,[120] *al-malik al-mubārak*[121] and *al-mahdī*[122] predominate. For Yazīd II, a variety of evocative epithets is attested: *imām al-ʿadl*,[123] *walīy ahd Allah*,[124] *imām al-manṣūr*,[125] *imām al-hudā*,[126] *al-imām al-mubārak*,[127] and *mahdī*.[128] Similarly Hishām is praised as *walīy al-ḥaqq*,[129] *imām al-ʿadl*,[130] *amīn Allāh*,[131] *al-ḥakam al-muṣaffā*,[132] *al-mubārak*,[133] *al-mahdī*, *al-ḥakam*, and *al-rashīd*.[134] We also encounter collective epithets for the dynasty[135] as well as epithets for princes and presumptive heirs to the throne.[136] Given the fact that all these *alqāb* establish a special relationship of proximity between the respective caliph and God, they provide social and thus political capital to substantiate the claim of legitimate rule.

114 Ibid., 70.
115 Eisener 1987, 143–154.
116 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 348.
117 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 309.
118 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 717.
119 Ibid., 416.
120 Al-Ruqayyāt, *Dīwān* (1958), 9. ʿAbd al-Malik is addressed as *hūdan wa-nūr* by al-Quṭāmī, *Dīwān* (1902), 88.
121 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 737.
122 Ibid., 416.
123 Ibid., 147.
124 Ibid., 686.
125 Ibid., 21.
126 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 346.
127 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 175.
128 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 2. 17.
129 Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 219 as *mahdī* ibid., 225.
130 Ibid., 224.
131 Ibid., 295.
132 Ibid., 290.
133 Ibid., 295.
134 For the last three references, see Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 288, as *mahdī* in al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 281.
135 Al-Ruqayyāt, *Dīwān* (1958), 5 referring to them as *maʿdin al-mulūk*. Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (1966), 1, 80 naming ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Marwān and ʿAbd al-Malik as *mahadiyyūna*.
136 For example, *Nūr al-bilād* for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (Jarīr, *Dīwān* (1969), 275), *Khalīfat al-raḥmān* for Ayyūb b. Sulaymān (ibid., 349), *Fāris Banī Umayya* for al-ʿAbbas b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ* (1996), 2, 479–480), *al-Maʾmūl* and *al-Mutaqqī* for Bishr b. Marwān, al-Akhṭāl, *Dīwān* (1994), 231.

According to Bates, however, all these *alqāb* should only be interpreted as epithets because they were not used in official contexts.[137] Since the examples cited above are taken from courtly panegyrics, they can indeed not serve automatically as evidence for the caliphs' self-understanding as divinely guided rulers, but they nonetheless reflect the space of experience and horizon of expectation in which the poets operated at the court. By combining late antique ideologems of sacred kingship with Islamic semantics, the poets contributed to the performative construction and the symbolic enactment of the claim to divinely ordained universal rule as a central aspect of imperial Marwānid ideology. Suzanne Stetkevych remarks in this context, that "as with other insignia of authority – such as the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the minting of Umayyad coinage – poetry played an essential role in the consolidation and construction of Umayyad authority and legitimacy […]."[138] Furthermore, it seems that some of these *alqāb*, which can be interpreted as proto throne names, also found their way into official correspondence. This is attested by a letter written by the governor of al-ʿIrāq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, to ʿAbd al-Malik, in which he is said to have addressed the ruler as *ʿabd Allāh* (servant of God), *amīr al-muʾminīn* (commander of the faithful), *khalīfat rabb al-ʿālamīn* (viceregent of the Lord of the Worlds), *al-muʾayyad bi-l-wilāya* (the one strengthened for rulership), and *al-maʿṣūm* (the infallible).[139] Likewise, in a sermon by al-Ḥajjāj, ʿAbd al-Malik is apostrophized as *ʿabd Allāh*, *khalīfat Allāh*, and *ḥabīb Allāh* (favorite of God).[140]

In addition to excerpts from epistles preserved in narrative sources, we also have material evidence attesting to the widespread use of the epithet *ʿabd Allāh* referring to Umayyad caliphs. It is thus somewhat surprising that this epithet has hitherto received little attention and that its use by the caliphs has been taken for granted, to a certain extent.[141] In the position of a *laqab*, immediately preceding the caliph's *ism*, we find the *laqab ʿabd Allāh* already in connection with Abū Bakr[142] and in epistles addressing ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[143] but it is only with the Marwānids that the phrase seems to have been increasingly medially propagated. It is found prominently on all of the surviving milestones erected by ʿAbd al-Malik as part of a

137 Bates 2003, 281.

138 Stetkevych 2016, 129. On the political dimensions of panegyrics, see Ḍayf 1959; al-Qāḍī 1970.

139 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* (1946), 5, 25.

140 Ibid., 4, 117.

141 Bates 2003, 280.

142 Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ* (2005), 112, 139, 178.

143 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3.1, 223–224; al-Azdī, *Futūḥ* (2005), 214, 217, 233, 235, passim; for Muʿāwiya I, see Miles 1948; Grohmann 1971, 79. Yazīd III calls himself *ʿabd Allāh* in a letter to Marwān II, al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (1968), 1, 302.

monumental infrastructure project[144] and in inscriptions from the Ḥijāz.[145] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik is named as such in monumental inscriptions on the entrance gate at the market of Baysān in the Jordan Valley around 120/738.[146] Of particular importance, however, are several specimens of lead bullae[147] and glass stamps[148] indicating that the *laqab ʿabd Allāh* was understood to be so closely associated with the ruler that it found use on seals of approval in rather mundane contexts.[149] We thus see in the Marwānid period experiments with different variants of proto throne names and, more significantly, with epithets such as *ʿabd Allāh*, *khalīfat Allāh*, *mahdī*, or *imām* that seem to have already begun to stabilize as official titles.

Conclusion

Umayyad rulers seem to have adopted *alqāb*, in the sense of epithets and titles, from an early stage. Although they also referred to themselves as kings (*malik*, pl. *mulūk*),[150] other titles predominate. These include caliph, interpreted both as successor to the Prophet (*khalīfat rasūl Allāh*) and as vicegerent of God (*khalīfat Allāh, khalīfat al-raḥmān*, etc.), commander of the faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*), and religious authority (*imām*). These accompany the *ism* of Umayyad rulers in historiographical sources, panegyrics, on coins, and inscriptions and emphasize the sacral character of the rulers' authority. While Crone and Hinds' monograph *God's Caliph* shows that there can no longer be any doubt that the Umayyads presented themselves as God's vicegerents and were addressed as such, the implementation of the title *ʿabd Allāh* has not been addressed explicitly in previous research. Yet the adoption of the phrase as a *laqab* preceding the ruler's *ism* is of great importance as it not only accentuates the sacral dimension of caliphal authority but also establishes a connection to biblical and Qurʾānic prototypes. In the Qurʾān, Muḥammad

144 Sharon 1999–2021, 1, 3–5 (Abū Ghūsh), 2, 1–7 (Bāb al-Wād), 3, 94–108 (Dayr al-Qalt), 3, 220–224 (Fīq). See also Elad 1999. Some milestones bearing ʿAbd al-Malik's name seem to have been erected after his death, Cytryn-Silverman 2007.

145 al-Rashīd 1999, 151–152.

146 Sharon 1999–2021, 2, 205–214; Khamis 2001, 162–164; Imbert 2015, 67–68.

147 Casanova 1894, 99; Goussous 2004, 232; Schindel 2007; Amitai-Preiss / Farhi 2009/2010, 233–234.

148 Morton 1985, 46.

149 The *laqab*'s significance is further substantiated by the fact of its usage on coinage by rebels, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī, to affirm their claim to power, Sears / Malek 2006.

150 Anthony 2021.

and numerous other prophets are referred to as *ʿabd Allāh*.[151] Above all, however, for late antique addressees the epithet *ʿabd Allāh* implied distinctive allusions to David,[152] who is the prototypical viceregent of God on earth in the Qurʾān.[153]

It therefore seems possible to interpret the experimentation with proto-throne names in the Umayyad era as an aspect of the "Qurʾānization" of the political discourse that Fred Donner has observed.[154] However, since this process went beyond a "qurʾānically" impregnated semantization of political discourse, it seems preferable to speak rather of a sacralization of rule.[155] This interpretation seems to be supported by the examples taken from courtly panegyric, but is also reflected in the transfiguration of Christian and Jewish holy places,[156] the seizure of prophetic *lieux de mémoire*,[157] the "Islamization" of coinage,[158] and the creation of an authoritative Qurʾānic *muṣḥaf*.[159] Along these lines, Alain George and Andrew Marsham have noted that, "the Umayyads were patrons of carefully composed articulations of sacral monarchy that took distinctive and self-confident position within a wider discourse of images, texts, directly challenging the stance of Roman emperors and early Christian civilization […]."[160]

In the Umayyad era, we can thus discern the beginning of a historical process through which epithets developed into throne names, which initially possessed a collective, or at least interchangeable, character and then, in the early ʿAbbāsid period, evolved into veritable individual throne names. This coincides with Bosworth's observation that *alqāb* "tended to be transmogrified into higher roles within Islamic society […] into becoming an honorific title, conferring status and prestige upon its owner since it frequently implied a specially close relationship to the sovereign or the divinity […]."[161] In this sense, the ʿAbbāsid practice of confer-

151 Muḥammad (Q 39:36; 53:10; 72:19; 89:29), Jesus (Q 43:59), Elia (37:132), Isaac (Q 38:45), Abraham (37:111; 38:45), Hiob (Q 38:41), Jacob (Q 38:45), Moses (Q 37:122), Aaron (Q 17:3; 37:122), Noah (Q 37:81). For the Qurʾānic use of *ʿabd*, see Brockopp 2004.

152 Bridge 2009.

153 On the disputed interpretation of the Qurʾānic term *khalīfa*, see al-Qāḍī 1988.

154 Donner 2011.

155 Sacralization is understood here as a process "in which certain social spheres become charged with religious meaning, but nevertheless remain within their own rationality. Unlike religion, which is based on the distinction between immanence and transcendence and thus doubles the whole of reality, sacralization auratizes and alienates something that nevertheless remains the object of non-religious realms." (Krech 2003, 57–58).

156 Busse 1966.

157 Flood 1999.

158 Heidemann 2010, 170–186.

159 Neuwirth 2010, 249–253.

160 George / Marsham 2018, XVI.

161 Bosworth 1998, 619.

ring individual throne names to caliphs, possibly beginning with the adoption of *alqāb* by al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī between 143/760–61 and 145/762–63,[162] represents a striking difference in emphasis but not a radical innovation. Rather, as in numerous other areas,[163] an adaptive and refining reception of Umayyad practices can be observed, which in turn can only be understood in connection with the discourse on the sacral legitimation of rule in late antiquity.

Acknowledgement: I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Jens Scheiner as well as to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions and comments.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

al-Akhṭal, Abū Mālik Ghiyāth b. Ghawth (1994), *Dīwān*, ed. by Nāṣir al-Dīn, Bayrūt: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

al-Azdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (2005), *Kitāb futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. by ʿUqla / Bani Yāsīn, Irbid: Muʾassasat Ḥamādah lil-dirāsāt al-jāmiʿiyya wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzīʿ.

al-Balādhurī, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (1996), *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. by Zakkār / Ziriklī, 13 vols., Bayrūt: Dār al-fikr.

al-Bīrūnī, Abū l-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1878), *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya*, ed. by Sachau, Leipzig.

al-Bukhārī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (2002), *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. by Baghā, Dimashq/Bayrūt: Dār Ibn Kathīr.

Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath (2009), *Sunan*, ed. by al-Arnaʾūṭ, Bayrūt: Dār al-risāla al-ʿālamiyya.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1949), *Taʾrīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, Cairo: Maktabat al-qudsī.

– (1963), *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. by al-Bijāwī, vol. 2, al-Qāhira: Dār al-maʿārif.

al-Diyārbakrī, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (1975), *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs fī aḥwāl anfas nafīs*, n. ed., vol. 2, Bayrūt: Muʾassasat shaʿbān.

al-Jāḥiẓ, ʿAmr b. Baḥr (1968), *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. by Hārūn, 4 vols., al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-khānjī.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabbih, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (1946), *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, ed. by Amīn, vol. 5, al-Qāhira: Maṭbaʿat lajnat al-taʾlīf wa-l-tarjama wa-l-nashr.

Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (1995), *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. by al-ʿAmrawī, Bayrūt: Dār al-fikr.

Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, ed. by ʿAṭā et al., 19 vols., Bayrūt: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (1997), ed. by al-Arnaʾūṭ/Murshid, 50 vols., Bayrūt: Muʾassasat al-risāla.

162 On this complicated issue, see Bates 2003.

163 Bligh-Abramski 1988.

Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim b. Muḥammad (1973–1983), *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, ed. by Khān, 10 vols., Hyderabad: Majlis dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuthmāniyya.
Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (2005), *Muqaddima*, ed. by al-Shaddādī, vol. 1, al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Bayt al-funūn wa-l-ʿulūm wa-l-ādāb.
Ibn Māja, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd (1952), *Sunan*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Bāqī, al-Qāhira: Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya.
Ibn Qutayba, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim (1969[4]), *Kitāb al-maʾārif*, ed. by ʿAkāša, al-Qāhira: Dār al-maʿārif.
Ibn Saʿd, Muḥammad (1904), *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kābir*, ed. by Sachau, Leiden: Brill.
Ibn Shahrāshūb, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (1991), *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. by al-Biqāʿī, 4 vols., Bayrūt: Dār al-aḍwāʾ.
Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh (1929–1972), *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. by al-Laʿrūwī, 16 vols., al-Qāhira: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya.
– (1997), *Mawrid al-laṭāfa fī-man walī al-salṭana wa-l-khilāfa*, ed. by Aḥmad, al-Qāhira: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya.
al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (1894), *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. by de Goeje, Leiden.
Mujīr ad-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (1999), *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, ed. by Abū Tabbāna, ʿAmmān: Maktabat dandīs.
– (2011), *al-Taʾrīkh al-muʿtabar fī anbāʾ man ghabar*, ed. by Ṭālib, Bayrūt: Dār al-nawādir.
Muslim, Abū l-Ḥusayn (1955), *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Bāqī, al-Qāhria: Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya.
al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (2004), *Nihāyat al-ʾarab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. by Qumayḥa, 33 vols., Bayrūt: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1922), *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, n. ed., al-Qāhira: Maṭbaʿat dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya.
– (1985), *Maʾāthīr al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*, ed. by Farrāj, Bayrūt: ʿĀlam al-kutub.
al-Quṭāmī, ʿUmar b. Shiyaym (1902), *Dīwān*, ed. by Barth, Leiden: Brill.
al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (1961), *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-shuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaghāʾ*, 4 vols., n. ed., Bayrūt: Dār maktabat al-ḥayāh.
al-Ruqayyāt, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Qays (1958), *Dīwān*, ed. by Nağm, Bayrūt: Dār al-ṣādir.
al-Ṣābiʾ, Ḥilāl (1986), *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. by ʿAwwād, Bayrūt: Dār al-rāʾid al-ʿarabī.
al-Ṣafādī, Ṣālih al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak (2000), *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt*, ed. by. al-Arnaʾūṭ / Muṣṭafā, vol. 5, Bayrūt: Dār iḥyāʾ al-thurāth al-ʿarabī.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (2005), *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. by ʿAqīl, Bayrūt: Dār al-jīl.
al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr (1879–1901), *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. by de Goeje et al., 15 vols., Leiden: Brill.
al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad (1867), *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. by de Jong, Leiden.
al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsa (1996), *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, ed. by Maʿrūf, Bayrūt: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī.

Secondary Sources

Abdel Haleem, Muhammad (2010:), *The Qurʾan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Abir, Mordechai (2020), *Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era. Regime and Elites; Conflict and Collaboration*, London: Routledge.
Akpinar, Mehmetcan (2016), *Narrative Representations of Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) in the Second/Eighth Century,* Diss., University of Chicago.

Amitai-Preiss, Nitzan / Farhi, Yoav (2009/2010), "A Small Assemblage of Lead Sealings, Weight and Coins from the Early Islamic Period", *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17: 233–237.
al-ʿĀnī, Sāmī M. (1982), *Muʾjam alqāb al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo: Maktabat al-falāḥ.
Anthony, Sean W. (2021), "Prophetic Dominion, Umayyad Kingship: Varieties of Mulk in the Early Islamic Period", in: Andrew Marsham, ed., *The Umayyad World*, London: Routledge, 39–64.
Arjomand, Said A. (1998), "Artaxerxes, Ardašīr and Bahman", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.2: 245–248.
Athamina, Khalil (1998), "The Tribal Kings in Pre-Islamic Arabia. A Study on the Epithet malik or dhū al-tāj in Early Arabic Traditions", *al-Qanṭara* 19.1: 19–37.
Baram, Amatzia (2001), "La «maison» de Ṣaddâm Ḥusayn", in: Piere Bonte et al., eds., *Émirs et présidents. Figures de la parenté et du politique dans le monde arabe*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 301–329.
Barbier de Meynard, Charles A.C. (1907), "Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe", *Journal Asiatique* 10.9: 173–244, 365–428, 10.10: 55–118, 193–273.
al-Bāšā, Ḥasan (1957), *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya fī l-taʾrīkh wa-l-wathāʾiq wa-l-āthār*, al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-naḥda al-miṣriyya.
Bashear, Suliman (1990), "The Title «*Fārūq*» and Its Association with ʿUmar I", *Studia Islamica* 72: 47–70.
Bates, Michael L. (2003), "Khurāsānī Revolutionaries and al-Mahdī's Title", in: Farhad Daftary / Josef W. Meri, eds., *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam. Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, London: I.B. Tauris, 279–317.
von Beckerath, Jürgen (1999[2]), *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Mainz: von Zabern.
Bengio, Ofra: *Saddam's World. The Political Discourse in Iraq*, Oxford 1998: Oxford University Press.
Bligh-Abramski, Irit (1988), "Evolution versus Revolution: Umayyad Elements in the ʿAbbāsid Regime 133/750–320/932", *Der Islam* 65: 226–243.
Bos, Gerrit (1996), "'Balādhur' (Marking-Nut): A Popular Medieval Drug for Strengthening Memory", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 59.2: 229–236.
Bosworth, Clifford E. (1980[2]), *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh 1980: Edinburgh University Press.
– (1998), "Laḳab", *EI*[2], 5, 618–631.
Bräu, Johann H. (1921), *Die arabischen theophoren Personennamen, der Laqab und die Kunja*, Diss., University Vienna.
Brockopp, Jonathan (2004), "Servants", *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* 4, 576–580.
Brühl, Carlrichard (1994), "Herrscherbeinamen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter", in: n. ed., *Società, Istituzioni, Spiritualità. Studi in onore di Cinzio Violante*, Vol. 1, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 135–144.
Bührer, Peter (1972), "Studien zu den Beinamen mittelalterlicher Herrscher", *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 22.2: 205–236.
Busse, Heribert (1966), "Der Islam und die biblischen Kultstätten", *Der Islam* 42.2/3: 113–147.
Cameron, Alan (2016): "Pontifex Maximus: From Augustus to Gratian – and Beyond", in: M. Kahlos, ed., *Emperors and the Divine – Rome and Its Influence*, Helsinki: The Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 139–159.
Casanova, Paul (1894), "Sceaux Arabes en Plomb", *Revue numismatique*, 3e série, 12: 1–30.
Cobb, Paul M (2001), *White Banners. Contention in ʿAbbāsid Syria, 750–880*, Albany: State University Press of New York.
Covington-Ward, Yolanda (2016), *Gesture and Power. Religion, Nationalism, and Everyday Performance in Congo*, Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Cytryn-Silverman, Katia (2007), "The Fifth mīl from Jerusalem: Another Umayyad Milestone from Southern Bilād al-Shām", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 70.3: 603–610.

Dąbrowa, Edward (2008), "The Political Propaganda of the First Arsacids and Its Targets (From Arsaces I to Mithridates II)", *Parthica* 10: 25–31.

– (2010), "Arsakes Epiphanes. Were the Arsacids Deities 'Revealed'", *Studi Ellenistici* 24: 223–230.

Daryaee, Touraj (2002), "History, Epic and Numismatics: On the Title of Yazdgerd I (Rāmšahr)", *American Journal of Numismatics* 14: 89–95.

Ḍayf, Shawqī (1959), *al-Taṭawwur wa-l-tajdīd fī l-shiʿr al-umawī*, al-Qāhira: Dār al-maʿārif.

Donner, Fred M. (1987), "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria", in: M. A. Bakhit, ed., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D.*, ʿAmmān/Irbid: al-Jāmiʿa al-Urduniyya/Jāmiʿat Yarmūk, 1, 1–27.

– (2011), "Qurʾânicization of Religio-Political Discourse in the Umayyad Period", in Antoine Borrut, ed., *Écriture de l'histoire et processus de canonisation dans les permiers siècles de l'islam*, Aix-en Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 79–92.

Elad, Amikam (1999), "The Significance of Two Newly Discovered Milestones of ʿAbd al-Malilk", *Der Islam* 76: 33–88.

Eisener, Reinhard (1987), *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fierro, Maribel (1988), "Sobre la adopción del título califal por ʿAbd a-Raḥmān III", *Sharq al-Andalus* 6: 33–42.

Flood, Finbarr B. (1999), "Light in Stone. The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture", in: Jeremy Johns, ed., *Bayt al-Maqdis. Jerusalem and Early Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1, 311–359.

Gelius, Peter (2013), *Sultanistischer Totalitarismus. Nordkorea, Rumänien und Kuba im regimetheoretischen Vergleich*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.

George, Alain / Marsham, Andrew (2018), "Introduction: Umayyad Elites and the Foundation of the Islamic Empire", in: idem, eds., *Power, Patronage and Memory in Early Islam. Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, XIII–XX.

Grohmann, Adolf (1971), *Arabische Paläographie*, vol. 2, Wien: Böhlau

Goussous, Nayef G. (2004), *Nummiyyat nuḥāsiyya umawiyya jadīda min majmūʿa khāssah. Musāhama fī iʿādat naẓar fī numiyyāt bilād al-Shām* (*Rare and Unedited Umayyad Copper Coins*), ʿAmmān: al-Bank al-ahlī al-Urdunnī.

Haas, Volkert (1994), *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden: Brill.

Hakim, Avraham (2005), "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the Title Khalīfat Allāh. A Textual Analysis", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30: 207–230.

– (2007), "ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb, caliphe par la grâce de Dieu", *Arabica* 54.3: 317–361.

von Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph (1852), *Über die Namen der Araber*, Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

Hassuri, Ali (1982), "On the Epithet of the ʾAbbasid Caliphs", *Der Islam* 59.1: 111–113.

Heidemann, Stefan (2010), "The Evolving Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and Its Religion on Coin Imagery", in: Angelika Neuwirth / Nicolai Sinai / Michael Marx, eds., *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 149–195.

Holloway, Steven W. (2002), *Aššur is King! Aššur is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Leiden: Brill.

Huyse, Philip (2006), "Die sasanidische Königstitulatur. Eine Gegenüberstellung der Quellen", in: Philip Huyse / Josef Wiesehöfer, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 181–201.

DE JONG, Janneke H.M. (2007), "The Employment of Epithets in the Struggle for Power. A Case Study", in: Olivier J. Hekster / Gerda de Kleijn / Daniëlle Slootjes, eds., *Crises and the Roman Empire*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 311–326.

KENNEDY, Hugh (1997), "From Oral Tradition to Written Record in Arabic Genealogy", *Arabica* 44.4: 531–544.

KHAMIS, Elias (2001), "Two Wall Mosaic Inscriptions from the Umayyad Market Place in Bet Shean/ Baysān", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64.2: 159–176.

KISTER, Meir J. (1975), "Call Yourselves by Graceful Names …", in: n.ed., *Lectures in Memory of Professor Martin M. Plessner*, Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Institute of Asian and African Studies, 3–25.

KNEISSL, Peter (1969), *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu den Siegerbeinamen des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

KOLB, Frank (2001), *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

KRECH, Volkhard (2003), *Götterdämmerung. Auf der Suche nach Religion*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

LECKER, Michael (2015), "Were the Ghassānids and the Byzantines Behind Muḥammad's hijra?", in: Denis Genequand / Christian J. Robin, eds., *Les Jafnides. Des rois arabes au service de Byzance (VIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne)*, Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 277–293.

LEDER, Stefan (2015), "'Nasab' as Idiom and Discourse", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58.1/2: 56–74.

LEWIS, Bernard (1968), "The Regnal Titles of the First Abbasid Caliphs", in: Tara Chand, ed., *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume*, New Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 13–22.

MADELUNG, Wilferd (1961), "Das Imamat in der frühen islamailitischen Lehre", *Der Islam* 37.1–3: 34–88.

MARSHAM, Andrew (2018), "'God's Caliph' Revisited. Umayyad Political Thought and Its Late Antique Context", in: Alan George / Andrew Marsham eds., *Power, Patronage and Memory in Early Islam. Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–38.

MILES, George (1948), "Early Islamic Inscriptions Near Ṭāʾif in the Ḥijāz", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7: 236–242.

MORTON, Alexander (1985), *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum*, London: British Museum Publications.

MUCCIOLI, Federicomaria (2013), *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici*, Stuttgart: Steiner.

VON MŽIK, Hans (1906), "Einiges über Marwâns II. Beinamen: al-Ḥimâr und al-Ğa'dî", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 20: 310–313.

NEUWIRTH, Angelika (2010), *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike. Ein europäischer Zugang*, Berlin: Suhrkamp.

OLBRYCHT, Marek J. (2016), "The Sacral Kingship of the Early Arsacids: I. Fire Cult and Kingly Glory", *Anabasis* 7: 91–106.

OSTI, Letizia (2015), "Al-Ṣūlī and the Caliph: norms, practices and frams", in: Mirella Cassarino / Antonella Ghersetti, eds., *Il dialogo nella cultura araba: strutture, funzioni, significati (VIII–XIII secolo)*, Soveria Mannelli. Rubbettino, 167–180.

PANAINO, Antonio C. D. (2009), "The King and the Gods in the Sasanian Royal Ideology", *Res Orientales* 18: 209–259.

PANAINO, Antonio C. D. / SADOVSKI, Velizar (2007), *Politica religiosa e regalità sacra nell'Iran preislamico*, Milan: Mimesis.

PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, Beate (2015), *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*, Boston/Berlin.

AL-QĀḌĪ, Nuʿmān (1970), *al-Firāq al-islāmiyya fī l-shiʿr al-umawī*, al-Qāhira: Dār al-maʿārif.

AL-QĀḌĪ, Wadād (1988), "The Term "Khalīfa" in Early Exegetical Literature", *Die Welt des Islams* 28: 392–411.

al-Rashīd, Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1995), *Kitābāt Islāmiyya min Makka al-Mukarrama*, al-Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-malik Fahd al-waṭaniyya.
Robin, Christian J. (2010), "Ḥimyarite Kings on Coinage", in: Manfred Huth / Peter v. Alfen, eds., *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms. Studies in the Monetization of Ancient Arabia*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 357–381.
Rollinger, Robert (2011), "Herrscherkult und Königsvergöttlichung bei Teispiden und Achaimeniden. Realität oder Fiktion?", in: Linda-M. Günther / Sonja Plischke, eds., *Studien zum vorhellenistischen und hellenistischen Herrscherkult*, Berlin: Verlag Antike, 9–54.
Rösch, Gerhard (1978), *ONOMA ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Sarkhosh Curtis, Vesta (2007), "The Iranian Revival in the Parthian Period", in: Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis / Sarah Stewart, eds., *The Age of the Parthians*, London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 7–25.
Savran, Scott (2018), *Arabs and Iranians in the Islamic Conquest Narrative. Memory and Identity Construction in Islamic Historiography, 750–1050*, London/New York: Routledge.
al-Sayyid, Fuʾād (2011), *Muʿjam alqāb al-sīyāsiyyina fī-l-taʾrīkh al-ʿarabī wa-l-islāmī*, Bayrūt: Maktabat Ḥasan al-ʿAṣriyya.
Sears, Stuart D. / Malek, Hodge M. (2006), "Claiming Absolute Authority: The Drahms of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī of Sijistān", *American Journal of Numismatics* 18: 131–140.
al-Shihābī, Qutayba (1995), *Muʿjam alqāb arbāb al-sulṭān fī l-duwal al-islāmiyya. Min al-ʿaṣr al-rāshidī ḥattā bidāyāt al-qarn al-ʿishrīn*, Dimashq: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa.
Schimmel, Annemarie (1989), *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Schindel, Nikolaus (2002), "Sulaiman bin Khalīfat Allāh Revisited", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 172: 5–7.
– (2007), "Eine umayyadische Bleibulle des Kaliphen Yazid", *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, 47.3: 116–122.
Schmidtke, Sabine (2013), "Ibn Ḥazm's Sources on Ashʿarism and Muʿtazilism", in: Camilla Adang / Marbiel Fierro / Sabine Schmidtke, eds., *Ihn Ḥazm of Cordoba. The Life and Work of a Controversial Thinker*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 375–401.
Schmitt, Rüdiger (1982), "Achaemenid Throne-Names", *Annali Instituto Orientale di Napoli* 42.1: 83–95.
Schreiner, Stefan (2018), "Wie der zweite Kalif zum Messias wurde …ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭābs Reinigung des Tempelplatzes und ihre jüdische Deutung", *Judaica* 74: 69–81, 225–242.
Seux, Marie-Joseph (1967), *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris: Letouzey et Ane.
Sharon, Moshe (1999–2021), *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*, 7 vols., Leiden: Brill.
Sigmund, Christian (2014), '*Königtum*' *in der politischen Kultur des spätrepublikanischen Rom*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
Smelik, Klaas A.D. (2014), "My Servant Nebuchadnezzar: The Use of the Epithet 'My Servant' for the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Jeremiah", *Vetus Testamentum* 64.1: 109–134.
Stetkevych, Suzanne P. (2016), "Al-Akhṭal at the Court of ʿAbd al-Malik: The *Qaṣīda* and the Construction of Umayyad Authority", in: Antoine Borrut / Fred M. Donner, eds., *Christians and the Others in the Umayyad State*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 129–155.
Sublet, Jacqueline (1991), *Le voile du nom. Essai sur le nom propre arabe*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
Szombathy, Zoltán (2002), "Genealogy in Medieval Muslim Societies", *Studia Islamica* 95: 5–35.
Tyan, Emile (1954), *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Vol. 1 Le Califat, Paris: Recueil Sirey.
Wasserstein, David J. (1988), "Ibn Ḥazm on Names Meet for Caliphs: The Textual History of a Medieval Arabic Onomastic Catalogue and the Transmission of Knowledge in Classical Islam", *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* 1988/1992: 61–88.

Wolski, Józef (1988), “Le titre ‘roi des rois’ dans l’idéologie monarchique des Arsacides”, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 30, 161–166.

Wrackmeyer, Andreas (1936), *Studien zu den Beinamen der abendländischen Könige und Fürsten bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg: Hamel.

ʿUmar, Fārūq (1970), “Alqāb al-khulafāʾ al-ʿabbāsiyyīna wa-dalālatuhā al-dīniyya – al-siyyāsiyya” *Majallat al-ādāb* 13: 376–405.

– (1971), “Min alqāb al-khulafāʾ al-ʿAbbāsiyyīn: ‘khalīfat Allāh’ wa ‘ẓill Allāh’”, *Majallat al-Jāmiʿa al-Muṣtanṣiriyya* 2: 323–338.

ʿUrayfī, Aḥmad (1985), *Kitāb al-alqāb*, al-Riyāḍ: Maṭābiʿ al-Farazdaq at-tijāriyya.